1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

114 142 144 In a recent work,* Mr. A. H. Keane, in a note on the "Dravidian Aborigines," writes as follows. "All stand on the very lowest rung of the social ladder, being rude hillmen without any culture strictly so called, and often betraying marked negroid characters, as if they were originally Negroes or Negritos, later assimilated in some respects to their Dravidian conquerors. As they never had a collective racial name, they should now be called, not Dravidians or proto-Dravidians, but rather pre-Dravidians, as more collectively indicating their true ethnical relations. Such are the Kotas, Irulas, Badagas, and Kurumbas." It may be pointed out that the Badagas and Kotas of the Nīlgiri plateau are not "wild tribes," have no trace of negroid characters, and no affinities with the Kurumbas and Irulas of the Nīlgiri slopes. The figures in the following table speak for themselves :—

141 [114]

—	Stature.			Nasal Index.		
	Average cm.	Maximum cm.	Minimum cm.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.
Badaga	164·1	180·2	159·9	75·6	88·4	62·7
Kota	162·9	174·2	155·	77·2	92·9	64·
Irula	159·8	168·	152·	84·9	100·	72·3
Kurumba	157·5	163·6	149·6	88·8	111·	79·1

Badagi.—The carpenter sub-division of Pānchālas.

Badhōyi.—The Badhōyis are Oriya carpenters and blacksmiths, of whom the former are known as Badhōyi, and the latter as Komāro. These are not separate castes, and the two sections both interdine and inter-

(113)

* The World's Peoples, 1908.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Acknowledgements

●114 A work of this size calls forth the assistance of numerous friends and colleagues. First and foremost I have to thank over 700 101 Badagas who have been interviewed. M. N. Thesingh, an Adikiri, and K. Lakshmanan, B.A., a Gauda, have been my constant guides and companions during the four years (1962–1963, 1969–1970, 1972, 1976–1977) that I have spent with the Badagas. It is a pleasure to record my gratitude to them for their valuable assistance.

Several university colleagues have lent their advice and encouragement over the years, notably Murray B. Emeneau, David 114 G. Mandelbaum, Wilbur Schramm and Anthony Walker. Robert W. Gage was of great assistance with the statistical procedures, and Nina M. Richardson did some of the initial research for Chapter 9. K. Lakshmanan, Reiner Protsch, Alice Streckeisen and Elizabeth Traugott have all helped me with a welter of translation. 000 Br. R. Bächtold and Paul Jenkins, Archivists of the Basel Mission, and the many nameless librarians at the University of California, Berkeley, the British Museum, the Bodleian, la Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Regenstein Library, the Connemara Library in Madras, the Government Epigraphist's Office, Mysore, and the Collector's Office, Ootacamund, have rendered sterling service in the hunt for obscure but relevant publications.

122 This research has been supported by several different agencies, among them the American Institute of Indian Studies, the Social Science Research Council, the Ford Foundation, the University of

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

them *ma:v*. But were any of the Badagas ever servants?

There are two small phratries living on the northern edge of the plateau near Si:gu:ru. These are the Kumba:ras ('potters') and the Be:das ('hunters'), both of whom report they came initially to this locality while in the service of the chieftain of Ummattu:r (southern Mysore district). The title of 'servant' might have been applied to both these groups but that would not explain how the entire immigrant community came to be called *Baḍaga*. In this context it is particularly worth noting that most of the immigrants arrived before the Be:das and Kumba:ras, who reached the hills in the seventeenth century; yet in 1603 Finicio was already calling the whole community Badega.[2]

We are thus left with the presumption that Badagas are so called because of their northern origin.[3] The case of the Be:das and Kumba:ras, phratries with the same material culture and social organization as other Badagas and a demonstrable tie with Karnataka, merely bears out the connexion with that state.

The fact that a sizeable minority (over 10,000) of the community is Lingayat further underlines the tie with Mysore, for this religious sect finds nearly all of its followers within Karnataka State, virtually none being in Tamil Nadu apart from these in the Nilgiri region. Some Lingayat Badagas are even able to relate how their ancestors left two now-deserted villages in Mysore and that they were then already converts to Lingayatism (or Virashaivism).

DATING THE MIGRATION

Legends are always inaccurate over dates, if only because they pass from generation to generation without modification of reference to times past. There are, however, various other kinds of evidence which also shed some light on the dating of the migration.

Published Estimates

Several writers well versed in Badaga culture have hazarded guesses as to the dating, based in part on legends they heard. Serious attention should be paid, I feel, to the earlier publications:

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Author	*Date of publication*	*Estimate*
John Sullivan	1819 (p. liv)	'about 300 years ago'
Benjamin Ward	1821 (p. lxx)	'about four centuries ago'
Thomas Baber	1830 (p. 315)	'about three centuries ago'
Henry Harkness	1832 (pp. 105–106)	'about six generations ago, during the anarchy which succeeded upon the downfall of the Vijayanagara empire.' i.e., 1565
Harry Congreve	1847 (p. 122)	'six generations ago'
John Ouchterlony	1848 (p. 81)	'3 or 4 centuries ago'
John Dulles	1855 (pp. 458–459)	'six generations since'
George Pope	1879 (p. 346, note)	"Many fled . . . in 1603"
William Stokes	1883b (p. 288)	'about 322 years ago'
Harold Stuart	1893 (p. 243)	'about three centuries ago'
Hanna Rhiem	1900 (p. 498, trans.)	'about three hundred years ago'
Edmond Périé	1933 (p. 97, trans.)	'some 350 years . . . when the Vijayanagar Empire collapsed'
M.K. Belli Gowder	1938–41 (pp. 5–8)	'seven hundred years back', or 'from 1300 to 1600'
N. Kariabettan	1958b (p. 2, trans)	'in the 11th Century'

It will be seen that nearly all of these authorities place the migration in the sixteenth century, which was when the Vijayanagar Empire (covering roughly Karnataka) broke up. M.K. Belli Gowder correctly dismisses the oft-mentioned ravages of Tippu Sultan in the late eighteenth century as a cause of the migration and instead suggests that the Moslem invasion responsible was that of Malik Kafur, the Sultan Ala-ud-din's favourite slave, who laid waste the Hoysala kingdom in 1311.[5] Kariabettan, another modern Badaga writer, presents no evidence whatever for his eleventh century dating and is not to be relied upon.

Linguistic Evidence

No competent study of Badagu has yet been completed, but

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

615 support for his high rank. Many also maintain that the Wodeas were descended from ancient Virashaiva Lingayats, reached the Nilgiris before any other Lingayats and came as priests, for which reasons too they deserve primacy.

178 615 Nobody disputes with the Christians or the Toreas for their lowly position, not even the Kota tribe who find themselves ranked lower still. On the other hand there is a movement now afoot to accord the Ha:ruvas higher status than the Wodeas: this springs from the minority who support a pro-Ha:ruva and pro-music faction. The mechanics of upward mobility for Ha:ruvas, a vegetarian group since its inception, have been to abrogate marital links with lower clans. The Ha:ruvas may marry Gaudas (non-vegetarians), Koṅgaru (vegetarians), Kaṇakkas and Adikiris (both Lingayat vegetarians). At present the frequency of marriage with Gaudas is decreasing noticeably, so that the Ha:ruvas are shifting away from their lower-status affines while becoming more closely linked by marriage with the Lingayats, though not adopting Lingayat religious practices themselves.

● 114 121 615 544 [582] Recently Mandelbaum (1970, 20) has described the Badagas as a *jati*-cluster. It is true that the units often identified as subcastes are now thought to constitute a hierarchy; but *none* of the ten is totally endogamous like a *jati*. Hypogamous marriages occur as often as hypergamous ones, a state of affairs not found between *jatis*, especially as marriage may take place between vegetarian and non-vegetarian Badagas. The ceremonial and economic links that one expects between *jatis* are of no consequence here except at the top of the hierarchy: Wodeas and Ha:ruvas do have attenuated ritual roles to play for the rest of the community, though over the past forty years these have been almost abandoned. Such linkages between the groupings are slight as compared with the economic and ceremonial ties between any Badaga village and its nearest Kota neighbour. These facts do not really justify calling the Badaga community a hierarchy or cluster of *jatis*: the concept of *jati* is unnecessary to this analysis. Phratry is the usual word by which anthropologists identify a grouping of clans, and there is no need to depart from that form here, especially as by doing so we might conjure up ideas of multi-caste villages, *jati* endogamy and *jati* occupational specialization which find no place in Badaga social organization although they are widespread in India.

114 M.N. Srinivas (personal comment, 1965) is probably right in suggesting, however, that at some point in the past, perhaps a

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

other's rituals. This contrasts with the intensity of the relationships uniting the various peoples of the plateau (compare Diagram 8, p. 100).

We know of only two occasions when Chettis and Badagas do have some ritual interaction: one in the plains, the other on the hills. Perhaps two centuries ago, and certainly before British suzerainty in the area, the Chettis of Ka:ramuḍu, acknowledging that they were becoming wealthier because of trade with the Nilgiris, built a larger temple to their god Raṅgana:tan and started the annual chariot-dragging festival in his honour. It was this festival day that the Badagas always chose as the best time for their yearly trading expedition; the trading was preceded by mandatory participation in the ceremonies (Nicholson, 1898, 352; see above, p. 138).

Secondly, one of the major Badaga festivals, in honour of their goddess Hette ('grandmother'), is held in Be:ragaṇi village, where there is a special building called Weaving House belonging in common to the whole village. Several days before the annual festival their Regional Chetti comes up from near Sirumuge to sit in this house and weave a year's supply of new clothes for the priest. These are a loincloth, turban and shawl, all of cotton, for the making of which the Chetti gets a fixed amount of cash from the temple funds (Francis, 1908, 317). These men do not otherwise weave while touring the plateau.

NOTES

1. 'There are no manufactures on the hills and much less of trade'; an exaggeration from Keys, 1812, li; compare Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 108.
2. See above, p. 40, n. 9. It may be mentioned that both Ptolemy and the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* refer to a town called Nelkynda, but this was probably Nirkundram, near Kottaya.n in Kerala.
3. It connects with the most westerly part of the Coimbatore Plain, in the upper valley of the Bhavani, as well as with Malabar District; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 105.
4. He did not ascend the hills but made his enquiry at the foot, on the Coimbatore side; Grigg, 1880, 277, Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 106, and Price, 1908, 2.
5. Burton, 1851, 270; Metz, 1864, 6; Balfour, 1885, 1099; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 107, n. 1. Among these people was Colonel A. MacLeod who spent some months in military movements in the Wainad in 1804. Several Badaga boys born on the day of his visit were named MacLeod; see Metz, 1864, 6; Grigg, 1880, 312; Price, 1908, 10. Other early visitors included H. Bevan and L.G. Ford (1809), William Morrison (1812), and W. Keys and MacMahon (1812).
6. Keys, 1812, li; Sullivan, 1819, lv; Macpherson, 1820, lvii; Ward, 1821, lxiii.

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

PREFACE

121 The human body lives out its years in an environment of oxygen, microbes, food, evil spirits, and love. For some cultures one of these is a dominant influence on man's health, but elsewhere things are otherwise. Perhaps there is nowhere on earth where all five factors are considered equally important in the fulfilment of the human potential. How food, spirits, and love are believed to affect the bodily development of the Badagas is the subject of the present study.

126 It is a subject that is fraught with methodological problems, not the least of which was my lack of formal training in either medicine, pharmacology or botany. However, I could at least take heart from [114] the encouraging words of *Notes and Queries in Anthropology*: "Even without special training it is possible to make useful records concerning the art and practice of medicine among natives, such as the names of diseases, ideas as to their origin, prevention, and treatment" (1929: 345). So I did this, although I felt uncomfortably like the proverbial Badaga "expert": "It is half bad if you do something [wrong] when you know about it; entirely bad if you do it when you are ignorant." For an outsider it should strictly have been [123] impossible to gain any understanding at all of Badaga medicine, since the people have no medical texts or schools of any kind and their therapists believe that cures will lose their efficacy if passed on to anyone but a genuine, accepted Badaga apprentice. An English anthropologist cannot be that. Beyond these difficulties lay serious

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

762 roots or nuts is quite effective. The common South Indian technique of jumping down a well is not possible in a terrain which has virtually no wells (Basel Mission 1853: 42; Rivers 1906: 635). In early times Badagas who wanted to take their lives swallowed the poisonous sap of the giant lobelia. Anyone whose life is ebbing and is [757] thought to have taken poison is occasionally saved by being forced to swallow soapy water: this causes him to vomit. We have already described some other techniques to bring on vomiting in 6.54.

The Causes of Death

165 9.7. While the commonest causes of death among the Badagas are well known to public health officials, the number of deaths attributable to each is not apparent from recent statements. There are somewhat reliable figures available on causes of death for the entire rural population in Coonoor and Ootacamund *Taluks* during 1921-1930, and as these are the two sectors of the Nilgiri District where Badagas preponderate rurally the statistics can be viewed as largely referring to this community (see Table 4, based on Madras 1928: 9 and Madras 1933: 8). These statistics express average number of deaths per thousand of the rural population annually.

165 We can also cite figures of questionable reliability for the period 164 1951-1960, but again these figures (Table 5) cover the entire popu- [114] lation of the Nilgiri District, not merely the Badagas. One Nilgiri disease pattern is very clear from Table 5, namely thet the dry hot month of May and the windy monsoon months of June and July have by far the highest death rate, particularly with cases diagnosed as fevers, dysentery, and respiratory ailments. Malaria, although of little concern today, also peaks in those months. The high rate of deaths in childbirth in April, however—if these figures may by trusted—is not indicative of a high birth rate in April, and thus of a high rate of conception during the monsoon month of July, it is instead an accidental feature that characterized 1959 alone (Nambiar 1965: 381). Badagas recognize the nesting season, from the start of Tai (around October-November) till when the fledglings leave the nests (around January) as the main season of human and cattle sicknesses.

114 The reliability of these figures in Tables 4 and 5 is in question 165 because we do not know to what extent deaths occurred in the more remote Nilgiri villages that went unreported or with their

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

causes not ascertained. We must also bear in mind that the Badagas made up only 21 per cent of the Nilgiri population in 1961; and they were probably somewhat healthier and better adapted to the montane climatic conditions that most lowland immigrants who have come to the plateau in recent decades as underpaid and undernourished day labourers, and whose deaths are also reflected in these statistics.

9.8. For one area of the Nilgiri District it is possible to be more specific about the causes of death among Badagas. I have located the register of deaths (among Christian Badagas) for the Parish of Ketti during the years 1892-1921. Although health conditions have improved somewhat since that period in the several dozen villages it covers, it is unique as a near-random sample (N=240) of the larger population, and its 33-year span is an important factor. A very few of the Christians listed in this register were non-Badagas or children of only one Badaga parent, but as they also lived and worked in one of the various Badaga villages which contained Christians their fate is nonetheless a good indicator of local health conditions. They have therefore been included in Table 6, (whereas five cases have been excluded because cause of death and age were omitted from those entries).

Because the register is very precise about age at the time of death, as well as stating the apparent causes of death, it should be possible to throw light on the factors responsible for the high rate of infant mortality among Badagas of that period. A cautionary note, however, is that no case histories are available, and in such situations "credit is often given to some respiratory or gastroenteric disease that may in fact have only administered the coup de grâce" (Newman 1962: 23). In particular, we may suspect that nutritional deficiencies often led to a constitutional weakness in Badaga infants which made it easy for one of the recorded maladies to take its toll.

The commonest factors in the deaths of children under one year were fever (4 boys, 9 girls), influenza (1 boy, 5 girls), whooping cough (5 boys), convulsions—usually a result of brain injury caused during the actual birth (9 boys, 7 girls), pneumonia (7 boys, 3 girls) and bronchitis (1 boy, 5 girls). The fact is that during the entire period 1892-1921, half of a total of 114 male and 126 female Christians who died—i.e., 65 boys and 62 girls—died in the first 12 months of life. In contrast, the stated number of mothers who died as a result of childbirth over this period is remarkably low (3).

121 the Badaga culture. We have to ask how their case compares with documented change elsewhere in India, and what broad theoretical conclusions may be drawn from such comparisons.

Acknowledgments

122 To the American Institute of Indian Studies, the Social Science Research Council, and the University of California, I proffer my sincere thanks for the sinews of war. Like any phase of a development project, the completion of a doctoral thesis requires something more than an adequate flow of capital: technical 000 guidance and inspired planning should always lead the way. In both of these, the constant interest and assistance of David G. Mandelbaum have been of immeasurable value. I have also been fortunate in the guidance given me by Gerald D. Berreman and Murray B. Emeneau. Eugene A. Hammel, also on the faculty at the University of California, has kindly read and criticized the manuscript in an earlier form.

127 Anthony R. Hazelden-Walker, of St. John's College, Oxford, has put at my disposal his own field-notes on the Todas; these have helped me considerably. It is also a pleasure to record here my appreciation of Mr. Hazelden-Walker's stimulating companionship while we were working in the Nilgiris together.

000 Apart from the assistance accorded me by these five gentlemen, this thesis has also benefitted from comments by Chie Nakane, Martin Orans, Surajit Sinha, and M. N. Srinivas.

128 The speed with which it has been possible to complete the work is largely (14) due to one person, my mother, Mary Hockings, who took upon herself the horrendous task of typing and classifying the data onto IBM cards. My wife, Amelia

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

122 Dr. W. A. Noble, M.D., and the Salvation Army. For plant identifications, the writer thanks Mr. S. Chinnamani, Mr. N.D. Rage, Professor
114 Daniel Sunderaj, and Professor Jonathan Sauer. Lastly, my wife's assistance and support is gratefully acknowledged.

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50	Badaga	AW50
	Kota	AW55
	Kurumba	AW56
	Toda	AW60
	Madras Tribes	AW63
	Kasuva	

[10]For identification of tree species around Ootacamund, thanks are due to B.G. Narayana Menon, Curator of the Government Botanical Gardens.

8: Hockings E-S (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

PAUL HOCKINGS

851

Badaga Kinship Rules in Their Socio-Economic Context

Abstract. – *The Badagas, a large refugee millet-farming community on the Nilgiri Hills of Southern India, have a Dravidian kinship system. Their larger social units include several levels of lineage, clans, and phratries. While much discussion of Dravidian kinship focusses on rules, this paper concentrates on actual practices, looking especially at situations for which there are no established rules. Many of the rules that do exist are shown to be preferences rather than prescriptions, particularly those relating to the choice of a marriage partner: although the system is rigidly patrilineal, residence after marriage is not always patrilocal. The joint family is still widespread. Among the unusual features of Badaga society, generation levels are only identifiable among males. This, combined with the frequency of remarriage and the existence of polygyny, means that affines may be able to trace the kin relationship between them through several different "routes." Only the sons inherit property, but while they all get an equal share of the land, it is only the youngest who inherits the parental home. Uncle/niece marriage and other more anomalous possibilities are examined. The paper illustrates the workings of a preferential pattern of bilateral cross-cousin marriage, and explores the nature of marriage reciprocity between villages.* [India, Kinship, Marriage, Inheritance]

The Badagas are a refugee millet-farming community who live on the Nilgiri Massif of Southern India. They are not however the victims of any recent political repression, for their ancestors moved up into that mountain environment during the 16th and 17th centuries, following the Muslim invasions of Mysore which brought the Vijayanagar Empire to an end. Those

---

Paul Hockings, *B.A. (Sydney 1957, in Anthropology and Archaeology), M.A. (Toronto 1960, in Anthropology), Ph.D. (Berkeley 1965, in Anthropology). 1965-1969 Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Univ. of Calif., Los Angeles; 1969 Associate Producer, M-G-M (documentary division), London; since 1970 Associate Prof. of Anthropology, Univ. of Illinois (Box 4348, Chicago, Ill. 60680). – Fieldwork: Coromandel Peninsula, New Zealand (1957-1958); Nilgiri Hills, India (1962-1963, 1969-1970, 1972, 1976-1977); Dingle Peninsula, Ireland (1967-1968); Chicago Ethnic Minorities (since 1973). – Some Publications:* A Bibliography for the Nilgiri Hills of Southern India *(1978);* Principles of Visual Anthropology *(editor; 1975);* Ancient Hindu Refugees: Badaga Social History 1550-1975 *(1980);* Sex and Disease in a Mountain Community *(1980). – Documentary Films, Articles, and Reviews.*

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

1. Kinship Behaviour

It is not possible to present the Badaga kinship system here in such a way that it fully explains Badaga behaviour, even that sort which we anthropologists usually call kinship behaviour. Any actions occurring in the social setting of two or more persons who consider themselves to be "related" may well have motivations that lie in such spheres as the practice of agriculture, the accumulation of political power, the acquisition of wealth, or the display of education—as well as in so-called kinship obligations. One can thus argue that the presentation of a system of kinship terminology does very little in the way of explaining behaviour, even though it is concerned with the labelling of actors in a wide variety of interactional situations.[1]

We will be confining ourselves, in the following pages, to two interconnected facets of kinship: *(a)* the system of terminology by which Badagas identify certain others as sharing ancestors and responsibilities with them, i.e., "being related"; and *(b)* the manipulations of this system so as to arrange marriage, transfer ownership of land, and assign responsibility for performing life-cyle rituals amongst one's "relatives."

That familial interaction is not necessarily dominated by kinship obligations or guided by high ideals of behaviour may be illustrated at the outset by an example taken from my fieldnotes:

> Over twenty years ago a well-to-do landowner was in hospital for a relatively minor complaint, and after a few days was discharged as cured. He returned to the village where he lived with his several adult sons, and died that same night. The next morning his body was cremated in the usual manner. The likely facts behind this series of events, as seen by those close to the family, were these. The old man, who was blind, was a Hindu, but had felt gratitude towards the local Christians on a number of counts. In his last years he had given several small plots of his own land to Christians, which had irritated his sons immensely. In concert, therefore, they had taken advantage of his release from the hospital to poison him, and of course arranged for his cremation immediately afterwards. In short, they had placed maintenance of their patrimony very much ahead of the traditional loyalty to parents which is supposed to be a prime Badaga—and Hindu—value. Descent and residence were assured already; now the inheritance had to be secured.

Even if this example proved inaccurate in some details, it could be paralleled by similar stories from any number of villages. In each case we would find that while rules for intrafamilial conduct do exist, as one central part of the Badagas' cultural tradition, personal considerations of one sort or another will very often modify the behaviour in quite unpredictable ways. The distinction between rules, i.e., institutional norms, and practice, i.e., the behaviour of individuals, will be a theme running through much of this paper.

---

[1] I am indebted to my students, Kathryn L. Cooper and Sayoko Morioka, for a preliminary analysis of my kinship data, and to Sylvia Vatuk for her critical comments.